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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to discover differences in foreign affairs news coverage in newspapers from countries with differing concepts of the role of the press. The study used data gathered in a content analysis of newspapers from 16 countries and the findings of an independent assessment of the relative freedom of press systems in those countries. This assessment categorized three countries as having a free press system (Iceland, the United States, and Turkey); six as having a partially free system (Mexico, Brazil, Egypt, Indonesia, Kenya, and Zambia); and seven as having systems that were not free (Ivory Coast, Tunisia, Thailand, Argentina, Algeria, Soviet Union, and Zaire). The study found that, while the press in each of the countries gave heavy coverage to executive leaders, the press systems labeled as not free were more likely than those labeled free to give top billing to the executive branch of the government. The nonfree press systems were less likely than the free systems to use direct quotations, but more likely to quote executives when such quotations were used. These newspapers were also less likely to emphasize political or civil conflict. (FL)

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International Communications Division

WORLD OF CONFLICT-WORLD OF PEACE: FOREIGN AFFAIRS NEWS IN NEWSPAPERS FROM STABLE VS. PLURALISTIC POLITICAL SYSTEMS

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Walter Lippmann in the 1920s described the role of the press in providing readers with a view of the "unseen environment." (Lippmann, 1922) For most, the world is filtered through the news of newspapers, television, or radio. We have little alternative, a concern to many "developing" nations whose leaders feel that their countries are not being mentioned 1) enough or 2) fairly in the news. (MacBride, 1980) Our views of other nations, the chances for peace, the need for stonger national defense, and many other topics are based in part upon foreign affairs news. Such news is our window to the world.

Yet this study finds that countries which emphasize social stability and tighter control over their citizens provide an emphasis in foreign news rather different from countries which are more pluralistic and open in approach to internal political life. The views of the world which one would obtain by reading newspapers of these contrasting government-press systems would suggest important differences. Relatively speaking, one world is peaceful and the other is not. Which way is the world? In which world would you rather live?

Such differences in coverage are important to the extent they show how newspapers generally reflect the political-economic systems in which they operate. We share more than we often admit. Journalists have an important job in constructing our views of foreign affairs regardless of political system. We no longer allow news to "just happen."

Stability vs. Pluralism: Traditional Frameworks for Comparison

In the midst of the United States-Soviet Union cold war in the 1950s, three American scholars developed a typology of the world's press systems. (Siebert et al., 1952) They found four types: authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet Communist press theories. This typology soon powerfully fixed itself upon the Western scholarly mind. The typology

provides an appropriate starting point for comparison of "pluralistic" and "stable" government-press systems. These systems did not develop in an historical vacuum.

Authoritarian Theory. The authoritarian theory characterized the early days of the American colonial press, a time in which kings still were vested (by themselves at least) with divine authority and in which the press by contrast had little power or authority. Licensing of printers, creation of "official" printing companies, taxes, and finally the threat of seditious libel pushed the ingenuity of printers to find ways to reach literate audiences with, first, religious and philosophical books and then news books, racy books, and finally, in England in the 17th Century and America in the 18th Century, newspapers. In this unequal struggle of printing press against government, from the late 15th to the late 18th Centuries, stability reigned.

Libertarian Theory. By the middle of the 18th Century, the press was something more than a threat to authority, although many still mainly so perceived it. The press was a business, often a very profitable one. The press dealt in information and ideas and what could be a more important "product"? The rhetoric of John Milton soon to be incremented with the voices of others, characterized the predominant theory of the early American press and it also evidenced 18th Century faith in reason. Born in the 18th Century, buffeted by events of the Revolution and the hostile first party period immediately following, the American press entered the new mechanical 19th Century committed to the great experiment which Milton had urged. America, our brief example in this historical trip, embraced libertarianism. Truth would have the best chance of emerging from a plurality of voices. Stability (within reason) would have to move aside.

Social Responsibility Theory. But the small-scale economic arrangements of the early 19th Century did not last. As economic lord, William Randolph Hearst matched with newspapers what John D. Rockefeller did in oil and Andrew Carnegie did in steel. By the middle of the 20th Century, press consolidations which had been under way at least since 1880 (Emery, 1972, p. 442) had stilled the many press voices of the 19th Century. Spotlights were replacing fireflies; so few any more were throwing wheat or chaff into the wind.

What was to be done? Time Magazine and Encyclopedia Britannica supported a commission composed of distinguished scholars who in the middle 1940s studied press performance and, in their report of 1947, on balance, found the American press wanting. (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947) The report reflected new economic realities. As E Pluribus Unum described the political nation it also held in local economic communities for newspapers. It was becoming difficult for a community to support competing newspapers. There was not, said the Commission, enough diversity, enough about minorities, enough plain digging into the news behind the news. (See Rivers and Schramm, 1969, pp. 47-48) Only a press cognizant of its social responsibilities could provide the depth needed. The press would have to simulate the diversity which the economic order of things could no longer generate upon its own. The press would have to spotlight events from all angles and seek the why of events. The journalist has a responsibility for picking and shaping events. Only active journalism could ensure the pluralism which an open social system needed. Pluralism requires effort.

Soviet Communist Theory. A special responsibility also is imposed upon the journalist in the Soviet Union but there the responsibility is to the party system and goals. (See Hopkins, 1970) If the Communist Party has

identified social goals and organized the state to support them, the press must also play a supportive role. Lenin himself gave the press a positive function. Where authoritarianism sought mostly to control the noisy and disruptive press, the Soviet Communist theory places a special responsibility upon the press for social organization. The journalist must place events within the proper context. The emphasis is upon continuity. Stability also requires effort.

Brief Comparison. The social responsibility theory is really the libertarian theory in which the press...so far...has been left on its own to find a positive role by seeking out all angles for a wide range of stories. The press must generate the diversity and seek out a plurality of voices which no longer can be expected to happen naturally. There are no longer enough competing newspaper voices.

The Soviet Communist theory rests upon stability, as does the authoritarian theory, and the Soviet journalist has a positive obligation to relate events to party doctrine. Are these differences in kind or merely degree? However the difference, journalists of all political systems are expected to play an active role in generating information of use to the social system in which they live.

When comparing government-press systems it is easy to be pejorative. Yet John Merrill (Merrill, 1965) has warned us that judgments of press systems are generally made from the comfortable platform of one's own political and social system. Four Theories of the Press, still very useful, leaves little doubt as to which theories are "good" and which "bad". It obviously is an American study. While arguments about which press-government system is best cannot be "won", a systems perspective provides a useful framework for analysis. Data always must be analyzed from some perspective.

STUDY QUESTIONS

This study combines findings from a content analysis with results of an independent assessment of the relative freedom of press systems. With these data, the study contrasts the foreign affairs news coverage in a sample of newspapers from countries which have adopted a relatively "pluralistic" approach to internal political freedoms and civil rights with the same type coverage in newspapers in countries which have developed more "stable" approaches to those freedoms. The newspapers of countries with an approach between these two--"mixed" systems--demonstrate patterns between those of pluralistic and stable systems. These adjectives are intended merely as labels, not values.

The study finds that, while the press in all nations apparently give heavy coverage to executive leaders over all other type leaders, the press in stable nations (as defined in this study) are more likely than the press in pluralistic nations to give top billing to the executive branch of government. The newspapers of stable countries also are less likely to use direct quotations but more likely to quote executives when in fact quotes are used. Relatively speaking, newspapers in stable countries keep a more direct focus upon executive leaders. Newspapers in stable countries are less likely to emphasize political or civil conflict, especially at home.

METHOD

Newspaper Data. As part of a larger study of world news patterns, scholars at the UNC School of Journalism gathered foreign news stories from a sample of newspapers from 16 countries during the early part of 1979. A grant from the U.S. International Communication Agency enabled U.S. scholars to undertake a study of a sample of newspapers (and broadcast news) from 15 countries in addition to the United States. Countries included, along with sample newspapers, are listed in Appendix A.

The study, sponsored by the International Association for Mass Communication Research on behalf of Unesco, was part of a larger project undertaken by scholars around the world. In all, some 27 countries were represented in the final study, although with one exception only data gathered from the 16 countries by U.S. scholars are included in this analysis.

Only foreign news stories were gathered, either stories about foreign governments or events abroad or stories about a country's own diplomats abroad. The study also included stories about "foreign events" which occurred inside of your own country, such as the activities of your own secretary of state or of foreign diplomats. In a sense much foreign affairs news is domestic.

Stories were gathered from the Monday through Saturday week of 23-28 April 1979, a continuous week. Data from Sunday newspapers also was gathered by U.S. scholars but not by scholars elsewhere in the project. (The feeling by some was that Sunday was an "atypical" newspaper.) An additional six-day "composite" week of data was gathered from dates randomly selected from the April-June 1979 period. Sample dates for the two weeks were different. The unit of analysis was the news story. Each story was measured in centimeters. There were approximately 17,000 foreign affairs stories (tiny stories were omitted in the study) which appeared in the newspapers sampled by U.S. scholars from 16 countries. These stories are included in this analysis.

For each story, coders determined what the story was about (subject and theme), who it was about or who was quoted or featured (the main actor), whether or not quotes were used, and a variety of other variables. These variables were used in comparing nations with different types of government-press systems. Coder reliability was acceptable (Stevenson et al., 1980).

National System Data. The study also "borrowed" the 1978 press freedom rankings (the year just preceding the period of the Unesco analysis) done annually by Freedom House, a New York-based organization. (Gastil, 1979) This ranking represents a United States view and is used, with qualifications, as an analytical starting point. All national system rankings must take some perspective into acccount. The ranking of world press systems by Freedom House takes into account the evaluation of political rights, civil liberties, and the overall performance of the political and economic systems of individual nations. The Freedom House process results in a final judgment of press systems judged to be "free," "partially free," or "not free." While one might quibble with the labels--final judgments depend upon your perspective--most would agree that the factors which Freedom House takes into account are significant. Examples are:

Evaluation of Political Rights

1. Are leaders chosen, or decisions made, on the basis of an open voting process?

2. Are there multiple parties or are there candidates who are not selected by the government?

3. Are polling and vote counting done without coercion and fraud?

4. What share of power is exercised by elected representatives?

Evaluation of Civil Liberties

1. Does the average person have the right to express views openly?

2. Can one discuss political issues without fear?

3. Can one belong to an independent private organization which is free of government supervision?

4. Is there an independent judiciary with a right of fair trial?

Evaluating political rights plus civil liberties, each ranked from 1 (the "good" side) to 7 (the "bad" side), results in a total score ranging from 2 to 14, with most countries falling in between. However defined, the condition of being "free" or "not free" is dynamic and falls along a continuum along which one only can estimate the position of a given press system at a given moment. Freedom House systematically and annually measures what long has interested other scholars. (See Nixon, 1960)

The 16 countries of the Unesco study "scored" from 2 to 13, as Figure 1 shows, with Iceland and the United States at the "top" and the Soviet

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Union and Zaire at the "bottom." Such anyway is a ranking consistent with U.S. values. Those countries with "low" scores are most likely to encourage a plurality of public voices. Those with "high" scores are most likely to promote stability, with less emphasis upon diverse points of view. Countries with scores in the middle are most likely to demonstrate aspects of both plural and stable systems. These assumptions formed the basis for the study questions. In general these assumptions were substantiated.

Figure 2 sketches the hypothesized dynamics of press performance which this study follows. In the "free" or, less pejoratively, "plural" press systems, government and press stand independently serving the public. The government can, and sometimes does, communicate directly with the citizens, as with information regarding taxes. The public can speak back with meaningful votes and by exercising real choice. But the press is the main

FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

avenue of information and even most official information flows through it. Press and public officials constantly jockey to determine the "proper" agenda

FIGURE 1

COMPARATIVE PRESS FREEDOM SURVEY[1]

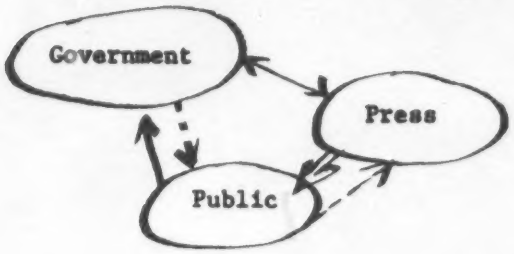
Country	Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Total	Overall Ranking
Iceland	1	1	2	Free
United States	1	1	2	Free
Turkey	2	3	5	Free
Mexico	4	4	8	Partly free
Brazil	4	5	9	Partly free
Egypt	5	4	9	Partly free
Indonesia	5	5	10	Partly free
Kenya	5	5	10	Partly free
Zambia	5	5	10	Partly free
Ivory Coast	6	5	11	Not free
Tunisia	6	5	11	Not free
Thailand	6	5+	11+	Not free
Argentina	6	6-	12-	Not free
Algeria	6	6	12	Not free
Soviet Union	7	6	13	Not free
Zaire	7	6	13	Not free

[1] The rankings vary from 1, the least constraint placed upon political rights or civil liberties, to 7, the most imposition upon those rights or liberties. Any improvement less than a full step since the previous year in either of these two areas is indicated by a "+" while a deterioration is indicated by a "-". For more explanation of these 1978 rankings by Freedom House, New York, see the text.

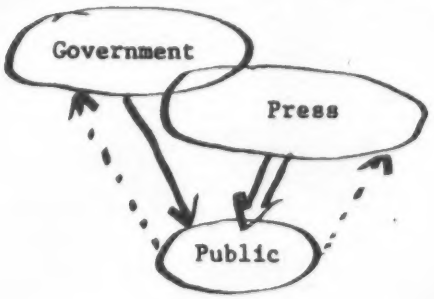
FIGURE 2

MODEL OF PRESS-GOVERNMENT-PUBLIC RELATIONSHIPS

"Free" or Pluralistic Systems



"Not Free" or Stable Systems



of issues. Most often the government holds the upper hand, but sometimes, as in the American Watergate imbroglio, it does not. There is give and take.

The same potential for pluralism is lacking in stable systems. If the press identifies with governmental interests, the circles overlap. Complete overlap eliminates completely the press as a source of independent observation. Public ability to speak back is diminished. From country to country, the degree of overlap varies and it also varies over time. In times of internal tension or international threat, the circles move closer together while in less tense times they may drift apart, U.S. scholar Fred Siebert has hypothesized. (Siebert, 1952, p. 10) Beneath political and economic systems there apparently are social system survival instincts.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Main Actors in Foreign Affairs News. Across the 16 countries, the main actor (the major person around whom the story revolved) came from the executive branch of the government. This included all types of executive leader, from symbolic head of state to ambassadors, ministers, and cabinet officers, but in most stories it was the chief executive who predominated. (The results of radio and television coverage, not included here, show even more striking executive dominance.) Chief executives usually are charged with responsibility for foreign affairs and when they travel or speak their words readily lend themselves to national stories. For the moment at least, they are their nation.

Across the 16 nations, executive leaders accounted for at least one of every three foreign affairs stories in home country coverage. See Table 1.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

In nations judged stable, executives accounted for about four of every ten home country foreign affairs stories. "Mixed" systems fell in the middle. Coverage of foreign leaders in the stories about other countries,

TABLE 1

EXECUTIVES AS MAIN ACTORS IN OWN COUNTRY AND OTHER COUNTRY FOREIGN AFFAIRS NEWS

Type Country:	Percent Executives as Main Actors in Coverage of Home Country		Other Country	
	%	n	%	n
FREE/PLURALISTIC				
Iceland (2)	9	93	19	631
United States (2)	29	826	29	1797
Turkey (5)	53	73	53	242
Total	29	992	29	2670
PARTLY FREE/MIXED				
Mexico (8)	22	238	24	1714
Brazil (9)	21	201	45	771
Egypt (9)	45	441	40	1243
Indonesia (10)	35	117	36	696
Kenya (10)	30	91	26	515
Zambia (10)	35	63	34	329
Total	33	1151	31	5268
NOT FREE/STABLE				
Ivory Coast (11)	31	29	42	234
Tunisia (11)	63	212	39	1256
Thailand (11+)	35	170	29	375
Argentina (12-)	17	335	25	1184
Algeria (12)	33	162	37	784
Soviet Union (13)	45	301	38	654
Zaire (13)	52	82	42	236
Total	42	1291	34	4723

on the other hand, was about the same by all three "types" of press systems, one of every three stories.

Readers of newspapers in the stable countries would have seen fewer types of people, and those more often executive leaders, dominating their own foreign affairs news. These differences are subtle but they suggest that in stable countries there is less doubt expressed about who is in charge. It also should be remembered that this study deals only with foreign news. In many stable countries, domestic news contains an even higher level of executive dominance.

Use of Quotations. Countries judged pluralistic were much more likely to use quotes from anyone in foreign affairs coverage, nearly one of every two stories, than were countries judged stable or mixed. See Table 2.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Pluralistic countries were also more likely to use quotes in coverage of other countries. But if anyone in fact was quoted, the stable or mixed countries were much more likely to quote executive leaders. For pluralistic countries, it was one of every three quotes. For the more stable it was one of every two. The more stable countries also were more likely to quote executive leaders in coverage of other countries. See Table 3.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

How much is style--quotes are popular, for instance, in Western news--and how much the predilection of a political system to orient on executive power abroad, just as it does at home? At any rate, in the stable and mixed government-press systems, one is more likely to read about an executive leader as a main character in foreign news and if there are quotes it is far more likely to come from an executive than from any other type person.

TABLE 2

USE OF ANY QUOTES IN OWN COUNTRY AND OTHER COUNTRY FOREIGN AFFAIRS NEWS

Type country:	Use of Any Quotes in Foreign Coverage of Home Country		Other Country	
	%	n	%	n
FREE / PLURALISTIC				
Iceland (2)	42	93	27	631
United States (2)	49	826	37	1797
Turkey (5)	40	73	28	242
Total	48	992	34	2670
PARTLY FREE/ MIXED				
Mexico (8)	31	238	26	1714
Brazil (9)	40	201	38	771
Egypt (9)	17	441	10	1243
Indonesia (10)	21	117	21	696
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Soviet Union (13)	23	301	27	654
Zaire (13)	22	82	29	236
Total	31	1291	27	4723

TABLE 3

USE OF EXECUTIVE QUOTES IN OWN COUNTRY AND OTHER COUNTRY FOREIGN AFFAIRS NEWS

Type country:	Use of Executive Quotes in Foreign Coverage of Home Country		Other Country	
	%	n	%	n
FREE / PLURALISTIC				
Iceland (2)	15	39	32	170
United States (2)	35	404	41	662
Turkey (5)	41	29	54	68
Total	34	472	40	900
PARTLY FREE/ MIXED				
Mexico (8)	33	75	42	447
Brazil (9)	39	80	45	290
Egypt (9)	83	75	73	124
Indonesia (10)	64	25	58	146
Kenya (10)	38	21	30	92
Zambia (10)	47	19	46	91
Total	51	295	47	1190
NOT FREE / STABLE				
Ivory Coast (11)	80	5	64	55
Tunisia (11)	82	74	66	333
Thailand (11+)	45	60	49	86
Argentina (12-)	25	135	43	408
Algeria (12)	79	34	58	125
Soviet Union (13)	50	70	51	176
Zaire (13)	50	18	57	69
Total	50	396	54	1252

Figure 3 more directly contrasts the numbers of stories in which anyone is quoted with the number of total quote stories in which the executive is quoted. In general as one "ascends" the freedom scale from 2 (very stable) to 13 (very pluralistic), the tendency for the more stable systems to use fewer quotes is offset by the tendency of the quotes which are actually used to come from the top. One can only guess, but it would seem plausible to argue that executive quotes in a system which tended to use fewer quotes anyway would give those which actually appeared more power. Being rarer, quotes would convey authority.

FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE

World of Peace, World of Conflict. For the same countries, the study compared the foreign affairs coverage of internal conflict. This included coverage of political crime (internal political conflict) and coverage of "ordinary" nonpolitical crime or judicial actions (civil conflict). Table 4 shows that the pluralistic countries are more likely to cover internal political conflict while all systems cover ordinary crime at about the same rate, although with a bit less emphasis given by the mixed and stable countries. All systems agree, however, about coverage of political and civil conflict in the "First World" (the economically developed countries of North America, Western Europe, and Japan). There the stable countries do not let up. They do, however, in coverage of political conflict stories in the "Second World" of Socialist Eastern Europe and the "Third World."

TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

If one concentrates only upon news of political conflict, the coverage of their own countries by the more stable countries is very light and coverage of the Second World is not much more. See Table 4. Coverage of

FIGURE 3

PERCENTAGE OF STORIES WITH ANY QUOTES VS. PERCENTAGE OF STORIES WITH EXECUTIVES QUOTED

Type Country:	Home Country Any Quote	Home Country Exec Quote	Diff	Foreign Coverage of Other Country Any Quote	Foreign Coverage of Other Country Exec Quote	Diff
FREE / PLURALISTIC	%	%	%	%	%	%
Iceland (2)	42	15	+27	27	32	-05
United States (2)	49	35	+14	37	41	-04
Turkey (5)	40	41	-01	28	54	-26
Total	48	34	+14	34	40	-06
PARTLY FREE / MIXED						
Mexico (8)	31	33	-02	26	42	-16
Brazil (9)	40	39	+01	38	45	-07
Egypt (9)	17	83	-66	10	73	-63
Indonesia (10)	21	64	-43	21	58	-37
Kenya (10)	23	38	-15	18	30	-12
Zambia (10)	30	47	-17	28	46	-18
Total	27	51	-24	23	47	-24
NOT FREE / STABLE						
Ivory Coast (11)	17	80	-63	24	64	-40
Tunisia (11)	35	82	-47	27	66	-39
Thailand (11+)	35	45	-10	23	49	-26
Argentina (12-)	40	25	+15	35	43	-08
Algeria (12)	21	79	-58	16	58	-42
Soviet Union (13)	23	50	-27	27	51	-24
Zaire (13)	22	50	-28	29	57	-28
Total	31	50	-19	27	54	-27

TABLE 4

INTERNAL POLITICAL AND CIVIL CONFLICT STORIES IN OWN COUNTRY AND OTHER COUNTRY FOREIGN AFFAIRS NEWS

Type Country	Political and Civil Conflict in Own Coverage			First World			Second World			Third World		
	% P	% C	Total N	% P	% C	Total N	% P	% C	Total N	% P	% C	Total N
FREE/PLURALISTIC												
Iceland (2)	0	1	91	3	5	414	3	0	30	22	1	137
United States (2)	5	3	899	8	4	686	9	5	151	21	3	866
Turkey (5)	2	0	68	6	5	151	0	0	15	34	3	77
Subgroup	4	2	1058	6	4	1251	7	4	196	22	3	1080
PARTIALLY FREE/MIXED												
Mexico (8)	1	1	383	3	4	957	3	4	78	16	3	633
Brazil (9)	*	3	329	13	3	367	2	4	54	26	2	287
Egypt (9)	2	3	715	3	3	584	4	2	45	16	3	640
Indonesia (10)	0	3	193	1	2	315	4	4	26	17	3	378
Kenya (10)	5	6	153	6	8	198	0	0	19	26	3	247
Zambia (10)	5	5	112	12	8	119	0	0	7	18	7	190
Subgroup	2	3	1885	5	4	2540	3	3	229	19	3	2375
NOT FREE/STABLE												
Ivory Coast (11)	0	0	103	2	5	42	0	0	14	13	1	151
Tunesia (11)	0	0	345	5	10	512	4	0	55	12	1	606
Thailand (11+)	1	3	319	3	1	148	0	0	21	10	7	177
Argentina (12-)	*	*	485	4	6	539	0	3	38	18	3	525
Algeria (12)	1	*	316	6	3	259	0	0	38	12	1	456
Soviet Union (13)	1	*	248	4	2	214	3	0	77	18	0	215
Zaire (13)	1	0	112	8	2	64	0	0	10	11	2	147
Subgroup	1	1	1928	4	6	1778	2	*	253	14	2	2277

* Less than .005%.

political conflict in the Third World similarly is relatively low. Yet if coverage of free/pluralistic countries is taken as a measure, there certainly was conflict in all areas of the world. Only in coverage of the First World does the press of the less free nations give it both barrels.

Does the press of the stable and mixed nations score their ideological opponents while demonstrating sympathetic understanding for the problems of the struggling underdeveloped world? Figure 4 suggests this is not the case. The difference between coverage of political conflict at home and abroad is about the same everywhere, eight to nine percent. The press of the mixed and stable systems simply covers political conflict less, except for First World conflict. Conflict of course is destabilizing; perhaps therefore it is best to leave it out--in the view of some at least.

FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE

The stable countries, furthermore, are likely to cast foreign news coverage into relational terms--that is, to carry news which concentrates upon the relationship between states or among groups of states. Through their foreign news coverage stable nations relate their country to other countries. Table 5 shows the amount of foreign news coverage of this type for the 27 nations in the full Unesco study, the 16 nations studied by the U.S. scholars plus data from eleven additional countries which was obtained by scholars elsewhere. As nations become more stable, the amount of news involving or relating to other nations enlarged. One might argue

TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE

that more stable nations attempt to provide a context for news, to help their readers see events in a larger perspective. If a government-press system seeks stability, this would be a logical function. Pluralistic systems would not demonstrate the same need to put events into context. Pluralistic nations would leave more up to the reader.

FIGURE 4

PERCENTAGE OF INTERNAL POLITICAL & CIVIL CONFLICT STORIES IN OWN COUNTRY AND OTHER COUNTRY FOREIGN AFFAIRS NEWS

	Stories with Political Conflict in			Stories with Civil Conflict in		
	Home	Other	Diff	Home	Other	Diff
Type Country:						
FREE / PLURALISTIC	%	%	%	%	%	%
Iceland (2)	0	8	-8	1	3	-2
United States (2)	5	14	-9	3	4	-1
Turkey (5)	2	14	-12	0	4	-4
Total	4	13	-9	2	4	-2
PARTLY FREE / MIXED						
Mexico (8)	1	8	-7	1	3	-2
Brazil (9)	0	17	-17	3	3	0
Egypt (9)	2	10	-8	3	3	0
Indonesia (10)	0	10	-10	3	3	0
Kenya (10)	5	16	-11	6	5	+1
Zambia (10)	5	16	-11	5	7	-2
Total	2	11	-9	3	3	0
NOT FREE/ STABLE						
Ivory Coast (11)	0	10	-10	0	1	-1
Tunisia (11)	0	9	-9	0	5	-5
Thailand (11+)	1	7	-6	3	4	-1
Argentina (12-)	0	10	-10	0	4	-4
Algeria (12)	1	9	-8	0	2	-2
Soviet Union (13)	1	10	-9	0	1	-1
Zaire (13)	1	10	-9	0	2	-2
Total	1	9	-8	1	3	-2

TABLE 5

FOREIGN NEWS INVOLVING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES

Type country:	%	n
FREE / PLURALISTIC		
Australia (2)	25	1032
Iceland (2)	31	689
Netherlands (2)	39	991
United States (2)	42	1487
Fed. Rep. Germany (3)	32	3068
Finland (4)	49	881
Greece (4)	28	205
India (4)	65	1649
Turkey (5)	59	327
Total	41	10329
PARTLY FREE/ MIXED		
Mexico (8)	30	1188
Brazil (9)	34	630
Egypt (9)	74	1322
Nigeria (9)	39	205
Indonesia (10)	44	811
Kenya (10)	57	501
Zambia (10)	58	516
Total	50	5173
NOT FREE / STABLE		
Hungary (11)	48	2931
Iran (11)	70	453
Ivory Coast (11)	66	390
Poland (11)	40	713
Thailand (11)	35	580
Tunisia (11)	74	1303
Yugoslavia (11)	56	1144
Zaire (11)	74	919
Argentina (12)	40	1017
Algeria (12)	80	935
Soviet Union (13)	82	997
Total	59	11382

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

"Pluralistic" and "stable" are relative terms in comparing government-press systems. At bottom rests a set of assumptions about the relationships among government, people, and press. Stable systems in this analysis appeared to control the amount of conflict in foreign affairs news and to keep a strong focus upon the executive as leader. News was more often presented in terms which related nation to nation. Such was stability.

Pluralistic systems provided a wider range of news figures, apparently had more access to them (at least provided more quotes by them), did not shy away from internal conflict and did not provide as much nation-to-nation context for the news. More was left up to the reader. In this study, pluralistic and stable press systems apparently performed as their government-press relationships direct, one with more diversity of sources and more openness to conflict news and one with more stability. The differences were relative--all systems place a great deal of emphasis upon executive leaders. Yet one news world was in fact more stable while the other revealed a bit more conflict in the world. Which is the more "accurate" view? It depends perhaps upon your assumptions. On the other hand, you think about what is in front of you if you have no other convenient way to learn about events. If it is not in front of you, it does not exist. Does it?

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APPENDIX A: SAMPLE NEWSPAPERS

Algeria

Al Sha'b

El Moudjahid

Argentina

La Opinion

Clarín

Crónica

Brazil

O Estado de São Paulo

Jornal de Brasil

Egypt

Al Ahram

Al Akhbar

Al Gomhuria

Iceland

Dagbladid

Morgunbladid

Thjodviljinn

Indonesia

Kompas

Merdeka

Sinar Harapan

Ivory Coast

Fraternite Matin

Kenya

Daily Nation

East African Standard

Voice of Kenya

Mexico

El Universal

Excelsior

Soviet Union

Izvestiya

Komsomoskaya Pravda

Pravda

Thailand

Dao-Sham

Sain-Rutt

Thai-Rutt

Tunisia

Al 'Amal
L'Action
La Presse

Turkey

Milliyet

United States

Charlotte Observer

Los Angeles Times

Minneapolis Tribune

United States (cont)

New York Daily News

New York Times

Washington Post

Zaire

Elima

Salonga

Zambia

Zambia Daily Mail

Zambia Times